/36 cont./

356 But to smell of smoke is an unavoidable thing in their persons,
[372] houses, and hammocks, since with considerable truth and not without a certain humor they themselves say that fire is their covering.

78. Indian women are familiar with the broom, tutumai or patá kuimatók, and around the house, for ten meters or more, they are always making by sweeping, pruning, and with shells, a border where generally grow up cotton plants, tobacco, and cucurbitaceous plants and sometimes some red lilies called pareurai.

825 79. It is true that the Indians do not always manage to keep themselves free of common parasites, the origin of which they attribute to vultures, especially the women who have long hair, nor are they free of chigoes, friends of dust and all but impossible to exterminate on dirt floors.

But are not these insects, under the name of woods animals, perhaps still living among us also, giving rise to many commentaries and statements?

825 In addition, chigoes on male children are considered to be an augury of the fact that when they are adult they will be very diligent and hard working, and in female children, that they will be good looking and very sought after.

This is one of the reasons why sometimes the flea-bitten might be considered to be almost elegant.

Anyone who knows country life well will understand the non-problem and the total nonexistence of facilities for the satisfaction of personal physiological necessities.

515 80. In corroboration with what has already been set down
177 by the observer of the Kamarakoto Indians, I must state that the Indians who are filthiest in their persons and in their homes are almost always the /37/ semicivilized ones, that is to say, those who neither live in the state of nature nor have assimilated our civilization; they lose what they had and they do not acquire what is ours, except by half measures; for instance, they might have clothing and lack thread and soap, or have shoes and no stockings, etc., etc.

/82 cont./

axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays' teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by controlling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

226
231
286
291
301
342
343
372
411
412
435
439
534
535
764
765
791

/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

The root kami probably is not related to kari' and means a hammock in Arekuna.

107. *pendə. Taurepan, pendə. Makuchi (Williams) pen-də.

The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

b. Fire and food.

108. *Flint (for making fire) — kakon. Koch-Grünberg gives wato (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and kako: for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. *Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — kulũ-kulũ. Makuchi (Williams), kari-kari, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) kõlõ-kõlõ. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. alakaputsa for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for kulũ-kulũ. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (kũlũ-kũlũ). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera tsə', from the sound of the shutter.

110. Tinder — wato-dapon.

111. *Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — wato. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), wato. See discussion of next word.

112. *Fire, firewood — apoi'. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) apo'. Makuchi (Williams) a-po. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, wato usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of wato and the other, more variable, forms like wapoto ("napoto," Yao, Adam) apoto (Cumanagoto, Adam), and apo. Forms like wapto (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

40

related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tanpan.
114. Ash — benuna.
115. Charcoal — kadaurma-tipwa.
116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo' .

Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

117. kumasa
118. putosa
119. pusa
120. kambwo
121. erindasa

122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.
123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.
124. "Gourd spoon — koireka. Tamepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchí (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.
125. Gourd bottle — wai.
126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.
127. Juice of casave (yúca) — kunachi.

Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

128. kachiri.
129. paiba
130. parakari
131. akeüyeüka
132. "Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Tamepán, o. üna, o. üna, üna. Makuchí (Williams), oi-na. Yanarana (Koch-Grünberg) höline. Most other languages agree with Yanarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arina-to, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
262 nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
171 the Maiongchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
317 native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulũ-kulũ (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoi? piapo?. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

262 Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
171 same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be described in detail. The roots, kõsẽ, are first scraped with a knife and then
252 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samairi, is not made
439 by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
114 manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangõi? in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

●372

Fig. 23 – Kamarakoto Fire-making.
Use of flint (local jasper), steel (a triangular file) and tinder (a thick roll of native cotton).

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and [481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe- [147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this [514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, particularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one [578] bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con- [857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires 372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma- 311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy ● 372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of 311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 – Analyst]

372 is probably not purposely fired, but it sometimes becomes dry enough to burn
311 and catches from the sabanas. Thus there is a large, gaunt, burned forest high on Auyán-tepúi, where no Indian ever goes, and others were seen in similar situations between Kamarata and Inepa. This custom has had a detrimental effect on the beauty of the region, which is of little import to the Indians, and on the pasturage of the sabanas, which is of still less — both points of some potential interest for the prospect of the opening up of this region.[230]

230 [see footnote on pp. 333-34, category 116 - Analyst]

typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones, but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance. The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
288 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]